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ABSTRACT

This report outlines the background of educational policy and objectives before and after the Cultural Revolution in China. The basis of Chinese educational philosophy is Marxism-Leninism; the ideal society is that of the Marxian utopia of a classless society. The role of education is service to the state, not the individual. Educational policy is devoted to developing the economy, political consciousness, reform, and universal education. The key concept to methodology is the unity of theory and practice. The new type of intellectual is one of worker-peasant origin. The Great Leap Forward Movement, characterized by de-emphasis of monetary incentives and self-interest and emphasis on class struggle, elimination of class distinctions, and greater sacrifice for socialism, has had its impact on education. The introduction of productive labor into all full-time schools eradicated the influence of a traditional disdain for manual labor by the educated. A review of the educational achievements under the ensuing seventeen years of communism is impressive in its realistic planning and practical implementation. The educational reforms are not innovative in fundamental assumptions, but do reflect the purpose of Chinese education in aiding in national development, both politically and economically. (KSM)

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EDUCATION IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

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PHILOSOPHY AND IDEAL

Basis of Marxism-Leninism

The social philosophy of the People's Republic of China is based on Marxism-Leninism. Up to the Sino-Soviet split it had also included the ideologies of communism as practiced by Soviet Russia. According to an analysis by V. Holubnychy, only 4% of all the references and quotations in the four volumes of Mao's works refer to Marx and Engels, compared with 18% for Lenin and 24% for Stalin.[1] "Maoism" is a word coined by westerners. In China Mao's thinking, even to this day, is referred to as Mao Tse Tung's "Thoughts". While Marxism-Leninism is considered to be the infallible and universal truth, Mao's thoughts are Chinese interpretations of it for the implementation of national policies. As a case in point, Mao's inclusion of the peasantry in the proletarian revolution is contrary to Marxist theory but fundamental to Mao's thoughts. When dogma is needed, there is always Marxism-Leninism to fall back on. Since the Sino-Soviet split, Mao's thoughts have been raised to the status of supreme truth, omnipotent in its power to solve all problems.

The Ideal Society Conceptualized by Chinese

Like all communist states ultimate Chinese goal is, of course, the Marxian utopia of a classless society in which the concept of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs" would be automatically practiced. In such a utopia of abundance, with machines doing practically all of the physical labor, everybody would be educated, selfless, secure and free from desire for status; hostility, and exploitation would disappear.

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1 Cited in R. F. Price. Education in Communist China. London: Rutledge and Kegan, Paul, 1970, p. 16.

In order to reach such a utopia, China, however, must go through long and ceaseless ideological struggles and revolutionary reconstructions. First of all, she is determined to achieve economic growth and industrial development, (as speedily as possible) because all other important political, social and ideological goals depend upon them. Secondly, China wants to demonstrate to the world that her version of communism is superior to all other forms of social order, and would like to permeate the world with this ideology eventually. Another important goal is to have complete sovereignty and independence from any foreign domination. Thus a related goal is to become a first-rate military power. These are China's intermediate goals, and they have caused her to start with immediate industrialization and the mechanization of her vast agricultural economy.

THE ROLE AND POLICY OF EDUCATION

Its Role

Education in China is designed not to serve the individual but the state. It is within the confines of the state's needs and goals that the individual may develop his potential. The overall educational plans are closely integrated with the national economic plans. It is strongly imbued with the element of ideological moulding at all levels. The term "education" in China is given the broadest interpretation. Besides the school system, it includes all the mass media, all forms of art, mass campaigns, intensive study and discussion groups of pure and practical ideologies, the therapy of criticism and self-criticism, etc.-in short, it includes all of the ways and means which would mould and remould the people's minds and behavior, their values, their human relationships and their world outlook. It is inclusive of all people, old and young. This gives some idea of the breadth and width of the Chinese concept of education.

Educational Policy

Chapter 5 of the Common Program, a tentative constitution in effect until 1954 when the official constitution was adopted, was concerned with cultural and educational policy. The following are excerpts of significant points from the nine articles:[2]

> "Article 41. The culture and education of the Chinese People's Republic are...nationalistic, scientific and popular...
>
> Article 43. To develop rigorously the natural sciences, to serve construction in industry, agriculture and national defense.
>
> Article 44. To promote the application of the scientific historical point of view in the study...of history, economy, politics, culture and international affairs...
>
> Article 45. ...to awaken the people's political consciousness, and to encourage the people's enthusiasm for labor.
>
> Article 46. The educational method...is the unity of theory and practice...to reform the old educational systems, educational contents and teaching methods.
>
> Article 47. To carry out universal education... to reinforce secondary and higher education; to put emphasis on technical education, and to strengthen spare time education for working people as well as education for cadres in service, and to provide young as well as old intellectuals with revolutionary political education."

Methodology

Unity of theory and practice is the key concept. The following passage from the report of the First National Education Work Conference in 1949 is very illuminating:

> "...The curriculums in universities and secondary schools must be continuously reformed. The key is to "pry into" the thought of teachers. The

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2 "Common Program", Chapter 5 quoted in "Social Change in China--With Special Reference to Education" by Chiu-Sam Tsang. Hong Kong, 1970.

> emphasis...lies in opposing doctrinairism which results in the separation of books and practice, and...in forestalling narrow-minded pragmatism which looks down upon theoretical learning."[3]

The New Type of Intellectual

The immediate task of education is to speedily produce "thousands of higher education intellectuals of worker-peasant origin."[4] The authorities in charge of industry, agriculture, communications, finance, etc. would cooperate closely with the educational authorities "so as to train systematically personnel for the various needs of construction."[5] Thus during the First Five Year Plan (1953-57) the abilities of the old-type intellectuals were utilized to promote socialist education, but they were always considered to be ideologically suspect and were obliged to go through a great deal of thought reform. During the famous "Blooming and Contending" campaign of 1957 in which open criticism was encouraged for rectification purposes, these old-type intellectuals, especially the social scientists, were the most outspoken critics. Their dissidence challenged the very foundation of communism, and thus brought down a ruthless anti-Rightist campaign upon themselves. This ended the short period in which the old-type intellectuals were given a small share in educational planning.

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3 "Ch'ien Chun-Jui's Final Report during the National Educational Work Conference", Jen Min Jik Pao, Jan. 6, 1950 quoted in Basic Principles Underlying the Chinese Communist Approach to Education by J. Chester Cheng. Washington, D. C.: USOE, 1961.

4 Lu Ting-Yi, "Education and Culture in New China", Jen Min Jih Pao, April 19, 1950, quoted in Ibid.

5 Ibid.

The ideal product of education is the pure Socialist Man who will possess the following characteristics: (1) absolute selflessness (2) complete obedience to the Party (3) high consciousness of class distinction (4) eagerness to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao's Thoughts (5) love for labor and contribution to production (6) versatility in being able to take on different roles (i.e.a worker-peasant-soldier-intellectual) (7) Red expert. The last is, of course, the ultimate aim of education: to turn out pure Communist men with skills and expertise for socialist reconstructions.[6]

THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD MOVEMENT

The Movement

In 1958 the leadership launched the ideological movement which was characterized by de-emphasis of monetary incentives and self-interest, extreme emphasis on class struggle, elimination of class distinctions, the constant calls for even harder work and greater sacrifice in order to speed up socialism. Every bit of manpower was mobilized. The now well known stories of backyard steel mills, the "miracles" wrought by pure "will power" and "zealous ideologies", the ascendancy of the Red over the Expert in the management of all affairs were phenomena of that Movement. The failure of crops (partially a result of adverse climate), the set-back in industry, the deterioration in morale, and the loss of faith of the third world in China's rationality were some of the crippling results. By the mid 1960's China had restored some balance between ideology and expert rationality, between agriculture and industry, and had risen from the ruins back to pre-Leap levels of achievement. There are also permanent legacies of that Movement which are functional, though modified, even to this day. For example, the commune with its Production Brigades and Teams have become permanent basic social units in rural China.

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6 Theodore Hsi-en Chen. "The New Socialist Man", Comparative Education Review, Feb. 1969, pp. 88-95.

Its Impact on Education

The introduction of productive labor into all full time schools was one big step forward to eradicate the persistent influence of the century-old bookish Chinese education and the disdain for manual labor by the educated. It gave a strong impetus to the implementation of "unity of theory and practice." All students from age nine up were required to spend some school time each week in assigned jobs. In the segment of vocational and technical education, they had to fulfill production quotas assigned by the state. Besides manpower mobilization, ideologically it intended to pre-detariatize the intellectuals and to intellectualize the proletariat.

Another great impact on education was the development of half-time schools. They mushroomed all over the countryside, aiming to produce junior technical personnel. They were the first secondary institutions to penetrate into the rural areas and were sponsored by the communes. Expenses were to be met by income from student labor. There was also a smaller number of urban half-time schools in connection with industry. This was not a brand new idea but was based on the famous motto: "Diligent in work while thrifty in study", initiated half a century ago in connection with the Chinese Renaissance.

The majority of the schools used a split day, or alternate days or weeks for study and work. The student's labor was done in various enterprises made available through the local communes. Schools had their own crop farms. The typical plants run by schools produced fertilizer and insecticides, or processed soy beans. The production plans of the schools were incorporated into those of the communes. Party secretaries of the communes usually acted as heads of such schools to ensure their success.

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM PRIOR TO 1966

General Characteristics

The attached chart gives a very clear picture of the system. The regular track was mainly a 6-3-3-4 one paralleled by a track of half-time and part-time education.

Early Childhood Education

Nurseries were operated by practically all the communes and enterprises. Life in both nurseries and kindergartens was full of group activities. Reading and writing were not taught, but speech and political consciousness were deliberately cultivated. Teachers were usually young and ideologically trained. Childhood is probably much happier in the People's Republic than in traditional China.

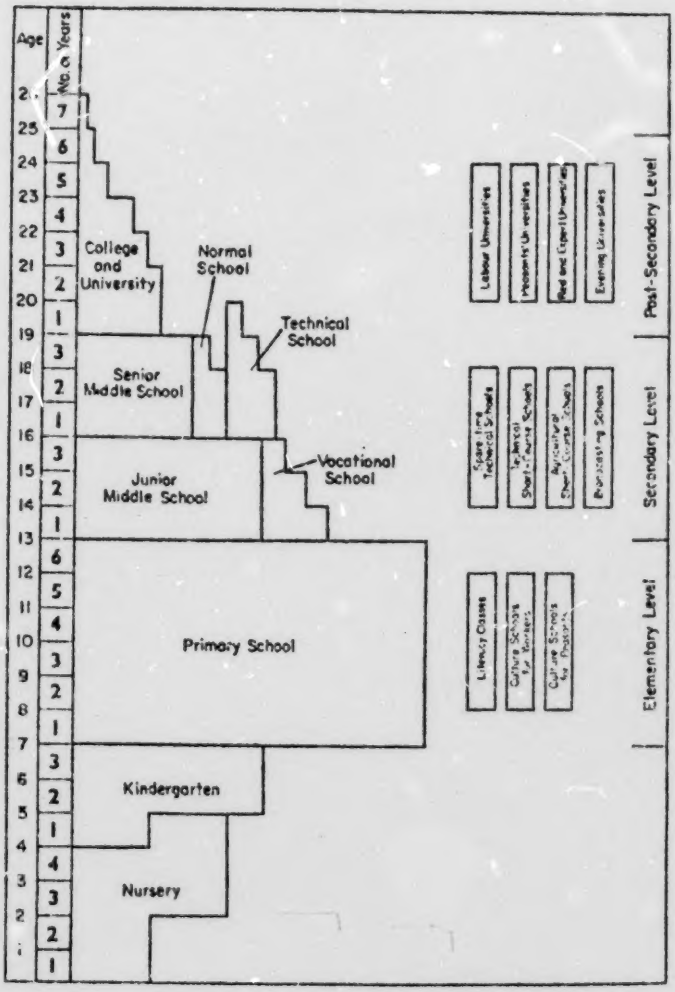
Primary Education

This was the beginning of formal schooling. Although it was not entirely free, it was quite universal when and where provisions were available. The curriculum in the first four years consisted of language, arithmetic, handwork, activities, drawing and singing. In the upper two years, nature study, history, geography and physical education were added. Of course, ideological moulding permeated all subjects. In the regular program children began to take a foreign language, with English replacing Russian as the most popular. Efforts are deliberately made to familiarize pupils with industrial life through content, visits and even by working briefly in plants. Generally children cleaned schools and public places, formed themselves into propaganda teams to assist political or social campaigns as part of the required productive labor.

Literacy Programs

Closely related to primary education was the pervasive system of spare time adult literacy programs. Most of the enterprises ran their own literacy classes, with the literate

The School System 7



Left, the school system of the Chinese People's Republic. On the right, *Part-time and Spare-time Schools* (age and years in wide range).

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7 Tseng, op. cit., p. 169.

personnel teaching their co-workers. Television was also utilized. This was spare time education taken after a full day's work. Prior to 1949 over 90 percent of the Chinese population was illiterate, and among the industrial personnel. it was 80 percent. By 1966 it was estimated that national illiteracy was under 60 percent, urban literacy under 20 percent, and among industrial personnel about 10 percent.[8] The nature of the Chinese written language makes it more difficult to acquire basic literacy than in many other languages. The leadership tried to combat it by two means. One was romanization, used as a supplement to aid pronunciation of the Chinese characters. The other was to simplify the characters by reducing the number of strokes. In 1964 a cumulative list of 2,328 simplified words was published.[9] A citizen is considered basically literate if he has acquired about 1,500-2,000 characters which would enable him to read newspapers, magazines and directives.

Secondary Education

The regular junior and senior middle schools offered an academic program, with productive labor added to it after the Great Leap. The majority of entrants into higher education in normal times were graduates of senior middle schools. Emphasis was on mathematics and scientific subjects rather than on humanistics and social sciences. The great majority of junior middle school graduates had to go to work and continued their education in spare-time programs.

The specialized middle schools, namely the vocational and normal schools, provided the major source of skilled manpower in China. The aim of the former was to train the students in a great variety of specific skills and knowledge for employment at the technician level. After the Great Leap

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8 Barry M. Richman. Industrial Society in Communist China. New York: Random House, 1969. p. 134

9 Tsang. op. cit. p. 178.

the junior middle specialized schools were eliminated. The entrants were usually graduates of general junior middle schools. The technical-industrial programs lasted three to four years, while the economics-business programs were typically two and a half to three years in length. The general characteristic of such programs was specific and applied.

Teachers were in great shortage. The junior normal school took higher elementary graduates and prepared them to teach the first four grades of elementary school or kindergarten. The course was three years in length, but it also offered shorter courses to prepare junior middle graduates for the same kind of jobs.

The normal school trained teachers for all grades of the elementary school and kindergarten. Entrants were junior middle graduates, and the course also lasted three years. All normal students were subsidized and were required to teach at least three years before changing to another occupation or continuing in higher studies. The components of the curriculum were political education, academic subjects, professional education and practice teaching.

Although the higher normal college and university belonged to the level of higher education, they may as well be mentioned here. Both kinds of institutions offered a four-year course to train teachers of general and specialized senior middle schools, while the higher normal professional school trained junior middle school teachers.

In-service training took the forms of "rotation training" wherein teachers were released from service for a few months of study, or apprenticeship whereby inexperienced teachers learned under the guidance of experienced teachers. The weekly "pedagogical seminar" emphasized group planning and dissemination of experiences gained. Correspondence courses were popular in rural areas. Stations were set up in central localities where enrolled teachers would go at intervals for all-day sessions.

Instructors of normal schools were expected to keep in close touch with elementary and middle schools. The Chekiang Higher Normal College ruled that its teachers had to give one-sixth of their time to teaching in secondary schools, and inexperienced instructors had to take one to two years out of every five years to teach in secondary schools.[10]

Higher Education

Institutions of higher learning included comprehensive universities, polytechnic universities, specialized professional and technical institutes, and research institutes. The majority of them were of the specialized type.

Comprehensive universities were interdisciplinary institutions offering a general education to produce researchers, educators and scientists of high calibre. Training in these universities was still more specialized and applied than comparable American universities.

Polytechnic universities typically offered five to ten specialties and a fairly wide variety of courses related to different branches of industry. These institutions were an important source of high level industrial manpower as well as of researchers, educators and scientists.

The specialized professional institutes, predominantly engineering schools, were the major source of manpower for industry with a higher education. They offered courses more specialized and applied than those at the polytechnic universities, relating only to a particular branch of industry. The few finance and economic institutes provided an important but limited source of high level managerial and white collar specialized manpower for business and industry. According to Richman, China in the mid 1960's was the third largest producer and consumer of engineers in the world, after the

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10 Theodore Hsi-en Chen. Teacher Training in Communist China. Washington, D. C.: The American University, 1960. p. 16.

Soviet Union and the United States.[11]

The weakest link in Chinese higher education was and is in the social and behavioral sciences. The China People's University in Peking is supposed to be the leading institution to train Marxist-oriented social scientists. In 1966 there were twelve departments, all offering five-year programs, except the department of library science and archive. The departments included international politics, philosophy, history, law, journalism, foreign language and literature. There were no departments, nor courses in psychology, sociology or behavioral sciences in general.[12]

Graduate Education

It was still in its infancy and conducted through leading universities and the research institutes of the Chinese Academy of Science. In 1965 the 1,200 graduate students represented only about 1% of the total number of college graduates. 99% of them were assigned jobs to serve the state. Selected graduates were sent abroad to study. In the earlier years, large numbers were sent to the USSR. In 1964 students were sent to sixteen countries, including one hundred two to France and twenty-five to England.[13]

Research

The highest organ responsible for research on a national scale was the Commission on Science and Technology, paralleling the State Council in status. It coordinated all scientific

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11 Richman. op. cit. p. 168

12 Ibid. p. 191

13 Tsang, p. 205.

and technological researches throughout the country and oversaw the Academy of Science and important classified projects such as nuclear weapon development. It should be mentioned that much research work had been done in anthropology and archaeology also.

Professor Arne Tiselius, Nobel Prize winner for chemistry and president of the Nobel Foundation for years made the following comments after a visit to China in 1966:

> "What I saw led me to believe that in many places the Chinese are doing excellent work in bio-chemistry and fundamental medical research. They are making impressive efforts to build up and intensify scientific research in general and they are also paying great attention to the practical application of their research to agriculture, industry and public health."[14]

The End of an Era

It is appropriate to stop at this juncture on the eve of the Cultural Revolution to review the educational achievements of China under seventeen years of communism. The record was truly impressive for a developing nation ridden with overpopulation, poverty, illiteracy and century-old traditions. Education was realistically planned and practically carried out at all fronts and at all levels. It reached the broadest masses of people, unparalleled in Chinese history, and provided them with at least literacy and rudiments of skills. It was also concerned with the highly sophisticated manpower needs at the pinnacle. It borrowed much from Soviet Russia, but subsequently adapted to conditions in China. It faithfully reflected the underlying principles of Marxism and the national policies. However, the Maoists were dissatisfied with its pace and emphases. Hence during the Cultural Revolution this established pattern was demolished.

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14 Tsang, op. cit., p. 211.

Education During and After the Cultural Revolution

1966-1968 On May 7, 1966 Mao issued the famous Directive on Education which served as the basis for all subsequent revolutionary activities in education even to this day:

> ...While their (students') main task is to study, they should, in addition to their studies, learn other things, that is,industrial work, farming, military affairs, and also learn to criticize the bourgeoisie. The period of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools by bourgeois intellectuals should by no means be allowed to continue."[15]

The Revolution in education started in May with the attack on the President of Peking University. Then all schools followed its example to struggle against their own "bourgeois leadership". In June the Joint Entrance Examination for higher education was suspended, and in August the Revolution was carried out into the streets by the Red Guards with violence. Soon they were received by Mao and Lin at Tien-an-men Square, and eventually nine million of them swarmed the capital and cities and paralyzed the national transportation system to "exchange revolutionary experience" throughout the winter.[16]

From February to March, 1967, three successive calls to the revolutionary students and teachers were issued, exhorting them to return to their schools to make revolutions there. They were told to do three important things, i.e. "struggle, criticism, and reform."[17] The first was to struggle against

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15 Peking Review, No. 20, May 17, 1968, cited by Stewart E. Fraser, ed., Education and Communism in China: An Anthology of Commentary and Documents, Hong Kong: International Studies Group, 1969, p. 607.

16 Union Research Institute, Union Research Service, Vol. 47, No. 3, Hong Kong: Union Research Institute, April 11, 1967.

17 Ibid., Vol. 49, No. 12, Nov. 10, 1967.

the reactionary academic authorities who were still in control of education and to seize power from them. The second task was to criticize and expose the defects of the pre-1966 system, with its discriminatory admission policy, its curriculum and methods. Finally they should reform the system under the guidance of Mao's Thought. Hence, the study of Mao's Thought and his directives became the content of curriculum. In the meantime, anarchism and factionalism became so wide spread in schools that the Army units had to move in to give "political and military training."[18] A new body called the Revolutionary Committee, representing feuding groups of students, teachers and cadres, was created to fill the power vacuum. The Revolution in the schools stalled at the first two phases of "struggle and criticism", while the phase of "reform" hardly began. As late as August 1968, factions were still in sharp conflict within Peking and Tsinghwa Universities.[19]
Another new organ called the "Worker's Propaganda Team" had to move into schools to reinforce the Army units and to ensure the thorough study and application of Mao's Thought and directives. This was a historic change of leadership in education with the proletarian Team in control.[20] In rural areas education was controlled by peasants, still there was no "reform".

1969-1970 Finally in May 1969 a draft outline on how to operate rural primary and middle schools appeared in The People's Daily as an official guideline, with considerable latitude for local variation.[21] After more than a year of experiments a general shape seems to have emerged. The system has been shortened by three years. In rural areas, a seven-year combined primary and junior middle school is run

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18 Fraser, op. cit., p. 602

19 Hsueh Yu, "Educational Affairs of Communist China in 1968" China Monthly, No. 63, June 1, 1969.

20 Union Research Institute, op. cit., Vol. 54, No. 3. Jan. 10, 1969.

21 Hsueh Yu, "Educational Affairs of Communist China in 1969" China Monthly, No. 73, April, 1970, pp. 12-22.

by the production brigade, followed by a two-year senior middle school run by the commune. In the urban areas, a five-year primary school is run by the neighborhood community, followed by a four-year middle school run by the factory. The control of education remains in the hands of the Propaganda Team representing workers or peasants. Schools operate their own small plants and farms, and are also linked with selected factories and communes. These measures ensure thorough unity of theory and practice in education and contribution to productive labor by the young. Old workers and peasants who have suffered bitterness in class struggle are engaged as lecturers to narrate histories of exploitation for the purpose of "class education". A new, softer line toward the former teachers who were greatly humiliated by students during the hey-days of the Revolution, has been signalled. A frequent exhortation from the central leadership these days is the "correct handling of intellectuals"--that most of them can be reformed and used in national reconstructions and that they should be encouraged to take initiative and practice their talents and skills. However, the morale among teachers is low. They have been too intimidated to take any initiative to "reform" education. Periodically they are required to receive "re-education" from workers and peasants and to contribute not less than ninety days of physical labor each year in the farm or factory.

It seems that there is already a standardized but experimental set of textbooks for primary and middle schools. However, each school has its own textbook writing committee consisting of workers, peasants, veterans, teachers and students to write materials of local nature as supplement.

The relationship between students and teacher has drastically changed from the traditional one. Participatory planning and constant evaluation of teaching and learning are common practice. The teacher's role is to guide and facilitate initiative and learning on the part of students. There

should be "reciprocal learning" between the teacher and the taught.

Since 1970 Most of the fundamental principles mentioned above apply to higher education as well. The slogan is "open door education", namely to take education to the whole society and unite it with industry and agriculture. The institutions of higher education did not reopen until the fall of 1970. Tsinghua is held up as a model for other technological and professional higher institutions to follow. Admission policy is changed. The entrants have to be workers, peasants (including those schooled urban youths who have made good on the farms), veterans, and cadres who have had at least three years of practical experience, about twenty years of age and with an academic background equivalent to the junior or senior middle school levels. The last two requirements are waived for worthy and older workers and peasants.[22] The regular length of higher education has been shortened to two to three years. There is a great variety of short-term and spare-time courses aiming to produce technicians out of workers and to up-grade industrial and agricultural personnel generally.

The writing of new instructional materials proves to be a hard core problem in higher education. According to the slogans, old materials and foreign scientific achievements should be "criticized and inherited", or "adapted to current and Chinese needs". At the same time, professors and students have to go through actual production or engineering processes to gain first hand practical knowledge. Back in the classroom the knowledge gained will be summarized and supplemented with a theoretical framework which will then be written down as instructional materials produced collectively.

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22 Hsueh, Yu, "Educational Affairs of Communist China in 1970", China Monthly, No. 24, March, 1971, p. 24.

The most perplexing problem is the curriculum of the colleges of arts and social sciences. These will be the breeding grounds for men who will inherit the leadership in China. What they do will cut right to the heart of the Revolution. There are some experiments, but no guiding model has been set up. The only guideline is that "The whole society is the 'factory' for colleges of arts and social sciences".[23] Their main function is to criticize and expose the capitalistic and revisionist systems of thoughts in philosophy, history, literature, political economics, journalism and education etc. As to what new content to replace them, it has been finally settled on the works of Marx and Mao after an agonizing period of debate. The social scientists are in the most precarious position among all educators, and it is understandable that they want to play safe.

The more refreshing innovation in higher education is the medical college. The slogan is "medicine to face the countryside". Entrants are the "barefoot doctors" and public health personnel who have been selected from the participants enrolled in the short term courses conducted by medical professors and students who have been the first ones to bring medicine to the Chinese countryside. The emphases are on preventive medicine and common diseases. Western medicine is to be combined with traditional Chinese medicine. Economical and indigenous "make-do" facilities are to be fully utilized. There are also a few high level medical universities which will study and conduct research on "difficult illnesses", but not at the expense of more common diseases.[24]

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23 People's Daily, June 19, 1971.

24 Heush Yu, op. cit., p. 24.

The Socialist Labor Universities are still another innovation. Kiangsi and Kwangtung Provinces seem to make the greatest progress in this experiment. They may specialize in technology, agriculture, medicine or teacher training, aiming to upgrade a greater number of local leadership such as the party secretaries of production brigades, leaders of production teams, exemplary workers and schooled youths who have gained peasant status. After one year of study, they return to their original posts to do leavening work among their comrades. This kind of Socialist Labor Universities model after the famous Kang Ta (the former Anti-Japanese Military and Political College at Yenan).[25]

Summary

If one carefully examines the heavily publicized educational reforms, one may find that they are surprisingly lacking in newness in fundamental assumptions. They are all in line with the policies laid down in the Common Program of 1949. All along prior to the Cultural Revolution, education had been developing toward that same direction. Only it was not thorough, speedy and economical enough. There were useless vestiges of foreign educational influences which no longer met China's needs for a breakneck economic development with a critical shortage of trained manpower resources. All the extremism given official publicity was centered on the first two phases of the educational revolution, namely, the seizing of control from the old-type intellectuals (struggle), and the downgrading and demolition of the pre-1966 system (criticism). In the phase of reform, the change is in the scope and thoroughness in carrying out the original objectives, rather than in the objectives themselves. No doubt, the process of education was greatly changed. The tradition of

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25 Hu I-min, "A New-Type Socialist University in Kwangtung Province", China Monthly, No. 83, February, 1971, pp. 19-21.

of memorization by rote, the blind acceptance of the authority of the written word, the separation of the mind and hands, and the elitism connected with the educated have been completely eliminated. Replacing them are: the universalization of educational opportunities, the full utilization of every bit of latent human resources, the adaptation of the foreign to become organically indigenous, and the homespun and economical ways to run a functional education for the broadest masses.

All these indicate that the leadership is astutely realistic about the state of the country and knows exactly what they are doing. The recent innovations of American education, such as the "school without walls", "the open classroom", "the participatory planning", "the constant feedback", and the Deweyan "learning by doing", "the projects", "the experimentation", "the group process", and "education is life"--all seem to have a familiar ring. However, these scattered American experiments are like childs play compared with the wholesale practice in China which has truly made "education is life" a reality. The greatest difference between the American and Chinese innovations lies not only in the planned magnitude of the latter, but also in the purpose of education. While American innovations are mainly for the sake of the individual (which at best is a skewed concept in democratic education), the Chinese innovations are explicitly designed to serve the state, with the individual gaining derivative benefit from it. At this stage, the key concept in Chinese education is "levelling up and down", and the slogan is "to learn first what is most urgently needed". It is irrelevant to use the yardstick of western "academic scholarship" to measure it. Education is not an "academic issue" to be debated by academicians in armchairs, but a realistic struggle for the survival and livelihood of nearly eight hundred million human lives in China.

The Chinese educational objectives and processes are so carefully dovetailed into her national goals that it needs no further interpretation. As far as her goal of economic progress is concerned, China, at this stage, is bent on developing an intermediate technology in her most under-developed areas, namely, the vast countryside where 75-80% of her population labor to feed 25% of the world population. Besides absolute political and ideological centralism, she has adopted de-centralization in every other aspect of development, including education, as a measure to tap local resources to the utmost. Her present strategy for economic progress is based on the "tricycle" concept, with large, medium and small plants co-ordinating to form self-sufficient industrial zones. The large scale modern enterprises financed by the state serve as the structural skeleton of the industrial system, but it has to be fleshed out by hundreds of thousands of medium and small-sized enterprises very cheaply financed by localities. The latter have to start with labor-intensive, primitive production methods, gradually discarding them as the plants accumulate greater capital and their workers absorb greater technical know-how through the network of spare-time or short-term mass technical training. The watchword is "self-reliance", exhorting the workers to manufacture their own production equipment and to innovate. The Chinese press is full of heroic tales of initiative and entrepreneurship by semi-literate workers. The "mass-line" policy of involving the workers and peasants in the productive process seems to have worked wonders. Japan's foreign ministry officially acknowledges China's economy is booming. It issued a report in March, 1971 estimating China's GNP climbed by some 10% in 1970. Chinese industry, the Japanese survey guesses, leaped 15-20%.[26] A Hong Kong analyst who has recently been

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26 Jonathan Unger, "Mao's Million Amateur Technicians", Far Eastern Economic Review, April 3, 1971.

to China says that the "tricycle" concept has brought her well into the take-off stage of economic advance.[27] American journalists reported on China's achievement in providing a better livelihood to the masses, plus universal education and a comprehensive welfare system including medical services for all.[28] Such practical achievements are the most effective propaganda to the poor and developing nations that her version of communism is superior to other forms of social order for them to follow. Her recent historic entry into the United Nations is her crowning success. In more than a century of modern Chinese history, this is the first time that China assumes the role of a full sovereign nation in an international context, instead of the former role of a protegé or "lackey" of some big power. Her veto in the Security Council is now her own. This recovery of sovereignty and dignity appeals greatly to the nationalism in the heart of every Chinese, no matter what political shade he has or where he lives on this globe. The world fully realizes that in spite of her "make-do" industrialization and practical-oriented higher education, her sophisticated pinnacle of national defense development is well protected from interruption and in the hands of world renowned experts. She is often accorded the status of a big power which she has no pretentions to assume at present. What she has is great potential to be one.

It seems that China is making great strides toward all her cherished goals. It is easy to know about her achievements, because she edifies them so much in her press. But how about the other side of her balance sheet? Her difficulties and problems are usually left in the unknowable

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27 Jack Chen, "Taking Off on a Tricycle", Far Eastern Economic Review, April 3, 1971.

28 Seymour Topping, Series in New York Times, May 30-June 27, 1971.

land of speculation. To cite just a few enigmatic phenomena will make one wonder a great deal. For example, on New Year's Day of 1971, it was announced in the official press that the 4th National People's Congress would be held in that year to adopt a new Constitution, a draft of which had been passed by the 9th Congress of the Party earlier, stipulating that Mao would be a life-time head of state and Lin, his heir apparent. 1971 had slipped by without any Congress. In restructuring the Party Committees at the provincial levels, why did it take two and a half long years to complete after the "official" ending of the Cultural Revolution? Among the twenty-one members of the new Politburo of the Central Party, ten of them are in the military, and at the local levels Party and Revolutionary Committee chairmanships are also mostly occupied by the military. Is the military now leading the Party instead of the orthodox line of the Party leading the military? And where to? Why was Chen Po-ta, the ghost author and mouthpiece of Mao's Thoughts, the editor of the Red Flag and the director of the Cultural Revolution, suddenly purged out of the Politburo and condemned as ideological fraud like Lin Shao Chi? The world still has not found out what actually happened in September 1971 when the preparations for the celebration of October first were suddenly called to a halt. All planes were grounded and all the army was ordered back for duty. One fact that can be deduced from all these and many other enigmas is that the severe power struggle has not been resolved. The perennial struggle between the Red and the Expert, or the purists and pragmatists will go on forever, if China wants to be both ideologically pure and industrially advanced. Whatever the direction her political pendulum swings, it will surely be instantly reflected in her educational system.

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